



ADDRESS

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OF THE

UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE

TO THE

Electors and Non-Electors

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING been entrusted by the General Council of the United Kingdom Alliance with the responsible office of directing the great enterprise in which the Alliance is embarked, we feel it to be our duty, under the particular circumstances of the movement, and in the present aspect of national affairs, to address some words to you, and to solicit from you a fair consideration of our principles, objects, and policy.

The country appears to be on the eve of something like a political crisis, and Government is likely to be called upon, ere long, to modify materially the Laws relating to the Representation of the People. The popular voice is likely soon to be heard more loudly in Parliament than at any period during the past or present centuries. Important changes, affecting deeply the condition and welfare of all classes, are certain to result from the agitation for which the country is fast preparing. Throughout the length and breadth of the land there is a growing desire for political and social progress. We think it right, therefore, to lay before you distinctly the purposes of our organization, the plans we are adopting, and the claims we have upon your regard and assistance.

Our first and highest aim is the amelioration of the condition of our countrymen. We seek the elevation of all classes, socially, morally, and intellectually. It is for the people, and their rights and freedom, that the United Kingdom Alliance is formed and conducted. It is for this that we seek the overthrow of a system which stands pre-eminent among the obstructions to all Progress and Reform.

The traffic in intoxicating drinks is proved to be the chief cause of all the social evils in our country. Upwards of one hundred millions of pounds are wasted yearly upon these drinks, and their use by individuals and the community at large is proved by vast quantities of evidence, and, indeed, generally admitted to be productive of mischief, demoralization, and disease, and of the main bulk of the pauperism, crime, and insanity prevalent amongst us.

It is, no doubt, chiefly the labouring and uneducated classes that suffer. Not only is this traffic destructive to the lives, health, and happiness of millions of the

poor, but it entails upon all ratepayers, householders, consumers, and society at large, an amount of injustice, taxation, and indirect oppression unparalleled in any other country. To the Liquor-traffic may be traced the largest portion of the burdens borne by the citizens. To the Liquor-traffic we owe three-fourths of the poverty, misery, and ignorance which surround us. The Liquor-traffic stands as a huge barrier in the way of religion, education, social science, and political reform. It is this great mountain of wrong which we seek to remove, in order that a highway may be cleared which shall lead us on to safe and wise reforms.

The system of licensing the sale of intoxicating drinks has been a great blunder, and will be such while it lasts. Restrictions and regulations applied to the Liquor-traffic are ineffectual and unsafe. The evils attendant upon it, which both Government and People admit, can be cured by Prohibition alone. If a tree were to poison the air and kill the people around it, you would drag it up by the roots and destroy it—knowing that if you only plucked off a few of its leaves it would still grow and disseminate its poison. And while the Liquor-traffic breeds pestilence and ruin in our midst, it is in vain merely to ask a premium from those who choose to engage in it. The common objection to the United Kingdom Alliance is, that it is aiming at something which cannot be accomplished. This we maintain to be an unsound objection, and a false alarm. We seek only to do in this country what has been most thoroughly and successfully done in various States of North America. But while the United Kingdom Alliance does not relinquish the idea of the justice and necessity of a complete Maine-law, the General Council have considered, approved, and suggested, as the practical means to be employed in the accomplishment of that object, a measure which is now generally known as the Permissive Bill. In various large and influential districts, including some parts of London, Manchester, Bristol, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Greenock, and other towns, a Canvass from house to house has been made; and overwhelming majorities of the adult inhabitants have given their written sanction to and approval of this Bill. As one of the leading features of the measure is comprised in the word "Permissive," and it is proposed to be brought into operation only in those districts where at least two-thirds of the Ratepayers demand its enforcement, the result of this Canvass is the strongest possible proof that the Permissive Bill is practicable, and will receive the support of the people.

It is unnecessary, in this address, to state all the details and provisions of the proposed Act, copies of which may be obtained, free by post, from our Offices in Manchester, or from any of the Alliance Agents, or from the Secretaries of almost all Temperance Societies. The Preamble of the suggested Permissive Bill states,—"Whereas the common sale of intoxicating liquors is a fruitful source of crime, immorality, pauperism, disease, insanity, and premature death, whereby not only the individuals who give way to drinking habits are plunged into misery, but grievous wrong is done to the persons and property of Her Majesty's subjects at large, and the public rates and taxes are greatly augmented, and whereas it is right and expedient to confer upon the ratepayers of cities, boroughs, parishes, and townships, the power to prohibit such common sale as aforesaid; be it therefore enacted," &c. Then follow all the clauses required to render the measure effectual, easy to be understood, and easy of application. Its provisions will include the following as principal features:—That after the passing of the Act, a given number of ratepayers may require, by notice, the Chief Magistrate of any borough, parish, or township, to take the votes of the ratepayers or inhabitants upon the question whether the provisions of this Act shall be enforced in that district. If two-thirds of those who vote be in favour of its adoption, the Act will come into immediate operation. If there be less than two-thirds of the votes in its favour, the space of one year must elapse before the votes can be again taken. The extent of the franchise upon the question is left for the decision of Parliament. The lower it extends the better for the objects of the Alliance. The ratepaying franchise is named as the largest now recognised.

The action of the law would be to render unlawful all trading in Aleoholic Liquors, save by paid agents, who would have to give sureties for the faithful performance of their duties; and whose business it would be to sell Aleoholic Liquors for the special purposes allowed by the Act, and to make an entry of every portion

of Liquor sold. Any person selling liquor in violation of the Act would be liable for all damages resulting from the use of such liquor. Any person should be empowered to take legal action against another who had illegally sold liquor to his or her husband, wife, parent, child, guardian, ward, apprentice, or servant; and married women should be able to lay complaints in their own names.

We put forth this Bill as one of the most important political documents which have ever been recommended for your adoption. There is no phase of political action, or of criminal or civil jurisprudence more worthy of your attention. It involves the welfare of yourselves, your children, and your friends—and the happiness of your homes and country. While we heartily sympathise with the demands for other good and wise reforms, we claim that the enactment of this measure would do more for the welfare of the people—for the advancement of the sciences of political and social economy—for the reduction of taxation—for the prevention of bribery and corruption at elections—for the improvement of both voters and representatives—and for the spread of education and religion, than any other measure which the Government could at present pass or the people could demand.

In the Reform Bills which we shall shortly see placed before the public, we anticipate no allusion to the Liquor-Traffic, or anything bearing upon it; and the United Kingdom Alliance is therefore determined to take its stand in the midst of political parties in the coming struggle, to ask from the people their suffrages, and to claim from Parliament its consideration of this important measure. We suggest that if you seek to be good politicians and useful social reformers, you will not pass by a movement or a measure so important as this; but take time to reflect upon it and gain information concerning it, and then act upon the conclusions at which you arrive. If our policy is good, you will find it to harmonise with all other good political policy. If the Reform we propose is a sound and safe Reform, you will find it to correspond, and to work well with all that is progressive and true in other Reforms. If the principle of Prohibition, as applied to public evils and nuisances, be a sound principle of political science—which all precedent and practice affirm it to be,—there is no solid reason why it should not be applied to this greatest evil and nuisance of our times—the Liquor-Traffic; and its application in that way would assuredly not be in conflict with any other principle of true political science, but would most certainly result in the development of higher progress, and the increase of social comfort and real liberty for the masses of the people.

Therefore, if you can conscientiously give us your sympathy and support, we shall be glad. If you cannot, then honestly oppose us. As all wise and permanent laws grow out of the intelligence and requirements of the people, we should be glad to convince you of the wisdom and utility of the proposed law, and to place it upon the statute books of our country, endorsed by your convictions and your will. If you are prepared, or will prepare yourselves, to go with us in this warfare, we feel certain of a speedy victory. While we are grateful for the immense benefits conferred upon our country by Temperance Reformers, and those who have hitherto used only moral suasion, we are satisfied that it must be in the arena of politics, at the hustings, and in Parliament, that this great battle between Prohibition and the Liquor-traffic must be fought. There is a time coming, we hope, when you will be ready to help us by your petitions and votes in this great struggle; and in the meantime, those of you who are already with us, may forward the movement by assisting in the Canvass for the Permissive Bill, and by seeking to influence the press, the magistracy, and members of Parliament in its favour.

May we, with all respect for your intelligence and power, and with sympathy and good-will for you, in all your efforts to gain your own rights, or to promote the progress and welfare of humanity, ask you to consider the propositions we have now put before you, and to be guided by reason and by the love of truth and justice in your decisions?

BY ORDER OF

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

FEBRUARY, 1859.

DECLARATION OF COUNCIL.

1. That it is neither right nor politic for the State to afford legal protection and sanction to any traffic or system that tends to increase crime, to waste the national resources, to corrupt the social habits, and to destroy the health and lives of the people.

2. That the traffic in intoxicating liquors, as common beverages, is inimical to the true interests of individuals, and destructive of the order and welfare of Society, and ought, therefore, to be prohibited.

3. That the history and results of all past legislation in regard to the liquor-traffic, abundantly prove that it is impossible, satisfactorily, to limit or regulate a system so essentially mischievous in its tendencies.

4. That no considerations of private gain or public revenue can justify the upholding of a system so utterly wrong in principle, suicidal in policy, and disastrous in results, as the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

5. That the legislative prohibition of the liquor-traffic is perfectly compatible with rational liberty and with all the claims of justice and legitimate commerce.

6. That the legislative suppression of the liquor-traffic would be highly conducive to the development of a progressive civilization.

7. That, rising above class, sectarian, or party considerations, all good citizens should combine to procure an enactment prohibiting the sale of intoxicating beverages as affording most efficient aid in removing the appalling evil of intemperance.

Signed on behalf of the Council.

WALTER C. TREVELYAN, Bart., President.

MINISTERIAL DECLARATION,

Adopted at the Ministerial Conference, held in Manchester, June 9th, 10th, & 11th, 1857.

We, the undersigned, Ministers of the Gospel, are convinced by personal observation within our own sphere, and authentic testimony from beyond it, that the traffic in intoxicating liquors as drink for man is the immediate cause of most of the crime and pauperism, and much of the disease and insanity, that afflict the land; that everywhere, and in proportion to its prevalence, it deteriorates the moral character of the people, and is the chief outward obstruction to the progress of the Gospel; and these are not its accidental attendants, but its natural fruits; that the benefit, if any, is very small in comparison with the bane; that all schemes of regulation and restriction, however good so far as they go, fall short of the nation's need and the nation's duty; and that, therefore, on the obvious principle of destroying the evil which cannot be controlled, the wisest course for those who fear God and regard man is to encourage every legitimate effort for the entire suppression of the trade, by the power of the national will, and through the form of a legislative enactment.

UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE

FOR THE

Total Legislative Suppression of the Liquor-Traffic.

[Founded June 1, 1853.]

President: Sir WALTER C. TREVELYAN, Bart.

Chairman of the Executive: WILLIAM HARVEY, Esq., Mayor of Salford.

Honorary Secretary: SAMUEL POPE, Esq.

Secretary: Mr. T. H. BARKER.

Bankers: NATIONAL PROVINCIAL BANK OF ENGLAND.

Official Organ: "THE ALLIANCE WEEKLY NEWS." Price One Penny. Sold by all Newsvendors.

Offices: 41, JOHN DALTON STREET, MANCHESTER.

J. R. Williams & Co., Steam Printers, Church Lane, Liverpool.



SUGGESTIONS FOR BILL

TO PREVENT THE

TRAFFIC IN INTOXICATING LIQUORS.

(As agreed upon by the GENERAL COUNCIL of the
UNITED KINGDOM ALLIANCE.)

ing more general suggestions, much detail is intentionally avoided in the following clauses.]

PREAMBLE TO SET FORTH THAT

WHEREAS the Common Sale of Intoxicating Liquors is a fruitful source of crime, immorality, pauperism, disease, insanity, and premature death, whereby not only the individuals who give way to drinking its are plunged into misery, but grievous wrong is done to the persons property of her Majesty's subjects at large, and the public rates and are greatly augmented; and whereas it is right and expedient to fer upon the ratepayers of cities, boroughs, parishes and townships power to prohibit such common sale as aforesaid—Be it therefore acted:

Preamble

I.—To be lawful at any time from and after the passing of this Act any or more Ratepayers residing in any Municipal or Borough town, or any Parish or Township, or part of Parish or Township, not within the Municipal Boundary, to require, by Notice, under their hands, the Mayor, Provost, or other Public Officer, to take the Votes of the ratepayers of such Borough, Parish, or Township, or part of a Parish or Township, as to the propriety of bringing into operation the Provisions of this Act.

Adoption of this Act.

On application or Ratepayers, Notice to be given of time and places for receiving votes for and against the adoption of Act.

The Mayor, Provost, or other Public Officer, within Seven Days after receiving Requisition, to give Public Notice of a Day, not earlier than seven days, or more than seven Days after Notice, and of a Place or Places within such Borough, Parish, Township, or part of Parish or Township, when and where the Ratepayers are required to signify their Votes for or against the adoption of this Act. The Votes to be personally delivered by the Voters at the appointed voting places.

II.—The Mayor, Provost, or other Public Officer, to appoint Places for Persons for taking said Votes.

Every Person who is rated to the Relief of the Poor within the said Borough, Parish, or Township, or part of Parish or Township, to be entitled to one Vote for or against the adoption of this Act.

Persons entitled to Vote.

The Mayor, Provost, or other Public Officer, to examine the Votes, and to declare, within two days of the close of voting, by Public Notice, the numbers for and against. The adoption of this Act to be decided by

A certain majority of Votes to adopt the Act.

the number of Votes. But the Act not to be adopted unless the number of Votes for its adoption be at least *two-thirds* of the aggregate number of Votes given.

Notice to be given immediately of the adoption of the Act.

If defeated, not to be tried again for one year.

III.—If the Ratepayers decide against the adoption of the Act, the majority be insufficient as aforesaid, *One Year* to elapse before it be lawful again to take Votes in such Borough, Parish, or Township, part of Parish or Township.

General Rule.

IV.—Not to be lawful, from and after the time limited for the commencement of this Act, for any person or persons (within any Borough, Parish, or Township, or part of Parish or Township, adopting this Act, aforesaid) to manufacture within the said Borough, Parish, or Township, or part of Parish or Township, for sale, or directly or indirectly to barter, exchange, or dispose of, except for such purposes as may hereafter be provided, any Alcoholic or Intoxicating Liquor.

Penalty for breach.

V.—Any person not being an Agent duly authorised, who shall, within the said district, by himself or his agent, directly or indirectly, sell, furnish, under any pretence, any Alcoholic or Intoxicating Liquor, except according to the Provision of this Act, to be liable to a fine of £ on the first conviction, £ on the second, and on subsequent conviction to imprisonment of not more than nor less than . In default of payment of fine and costs on the first or second conviction the offender to be imprisoned at the discretion of the Justices.

Proceedings in case of contravention of Act.

VI.—If any Ratepayers of said district make oath or affirmation before any Justice of the Peace acting for or within said district, that they believe Alcoholic or Intoxicating Liquors to be kept or deposited for purposes of sale in any conveyance, shop, warehouse, or other place, building, within such district, the said Justice to issue search warrant, and any Alcoholic Liquor found in pursuance thereof to be seized.

Power of Search and Seizure.

Inspection

No dwelling-house, however, to be searched, which is not a house of public entertainment, or in which, or part of which, a shop is not kept, unless (at least) of the said complainants testify an oath or affirmation to some act of sale of Alcoholic Liquors therein or therefrom within of the time of the complaint.

Non-appearance of defendant. Liquor to be destroyed.

The owner or keeper of the Liquor to be forthwith summoned before the Justices of the District. If he fail to appear, or it is shown that the liquor was kept and intended for sale contrary to the Provisions of this Act, the Liquor to be forfeited and destroyed.

Case of absence or ignorance of owner of Liquor.

VII.—If the owner of the Liquor be unknown, days' notice to be given of the seizure, and if lawfully claimed the Liquor to be given up.

Any person on whose premises, or in whose building, or house, or place, any offences against this Act may be committed, to be held responsible, and liable to the pains and penalties of the Act, unless he can show non-participation, direct or indirect.

Appointment of Agents.

VIII.—The Justices acting for said district to appoint an Agent or Agents to sell within said district, at some convenient and suitable place, Alcoholic Liquors for purposes such as may hereafter be provided, such Agents to receive a salary not exceeding £ per annum. No more than one Agent to be appointed for every inhabitants.

Securities from Agents.

IX.—Such Agent to enter into a bond, with two sureties, that he will in all respects conform to and sell only according to the provisions of this Act.

Every such Agent to keep a book, in which he shall enter each sale made by him of Alcoholic Liquors, giving date, time, purchaser, quantity

purposes for which required; this book to be open to the inspection of Justices or their officers at all times.

X.—To be the duty of any Constable, &c., whenever he shall see, in said district, any person intoxicated in any public street or place, apprehend such person, and keep him safe until sober; and thereupon take him before a Justice, who shall examine him on oath or affirmation, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any offence has been committed against this Act.

Drunkard compelled to declare the place where Liquor obtained:

If such person refuse to answer, or to be sworn, or make affirmation, Justice to commit him during pleasure.

If, on such examination, it appear that an offence has been committed against this Act, said Justice to issue his warrant for the arrest of offender and the search of his premises, and convict him on sufficient evidence.

XI.—Every person who shall sell any Liquor in violation of this Act is liable for all damages which may happen or result therefrom.

Liquor seller to be liable for damages.

XII.—Any person to have the right of action against any other person who shall sell any Liquor, contrary to any provision of this Act, to husband, wife, parent, child, guardian, ward, apprentice, or servant of plaintiff.

Right of action against seller.

Not to be necessary to aver special damage, but jury to assess damages.

Any married woman to maintain any such action in her own name, irrespective of the consent of her husband.

XIII.—No person engaged, directly or indirectly, in the sale of Wholic Liquors to be a juror in any case arising under this Act.

No publican jurors.

XIV.—Right of appeal to be given against conviction by Justices under the provisions of this Act.

Appeal.

N.B.—It must be borne in mind that the above "suggestions" aim at doing more than an indication of general intention. Many technical deficiencies may be observed, which of course would be remedied in preparing the draft of an Act of Parliament.

Note, also, that some modification of detail will be required to render "suggestions" legally appropriate to Scotland and Ireland. These, will of course be made—at the proper time.

With reference to the qualifications of voters, &c., it has been thought to adopt machinery and methods already existing, in order to avoid arrassing the "suggestions" with extraneous debatable points. The same is not committed to the advocacy of any particular plan for the future.

On clauses 6 and 7 in the "suggestions," note that in relation to gaming-houses, 8 and 9 Vic., cap. 109, declares that any dice, tables, or other instruments of gaming found in any house suspected to be a common gaming-house, shall be evidence until the contrary be made to appear that such house is used as a common gaming-house. Lord Campbell's "Bill of Obscene Books Prevention Act" gives much more summary powers than those claimed in these clauses.

Note, also, on clause 10, that a recent act in relation to gaming-houses adopts the same principle. By 17 and 18 Vic., cap. 38, persons taken into custody as being present in a gaming-house, may be called as witnesses, and punished if recusant. Such a provision would be more or less useful in proportion to the area of the district.

President of the Alliance :

Sir WALTER C. TREVELYAN, Baronet.

Vice-Presidents :

The Right Hon. the Earl of HARRINGTON, K.C.B., Elvaston Castle.

Sir WILLIAM A'BECKETT, Chief Justice of Victoria.

Sir WILFRED LAWSON, Bart., Brayton, near Carlisle.

The Very Rev. Dean COTTON, Bangor.

The Very Rev. F. CLOSE, Dean of Carlisle.

LAWRENCE HEYWORTH, Esq., Liverpool.

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The Rev. Canon JENKINS, M.A., Dowlais.

The Rev. Chancellor MORGAN, M.A., Machen, South Wales.

Sir JOHN STEWART FORBES, Bart., Fettercairn.

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CHARLES JUPE, Esq., Mere.

JOSEPH PEASE, Esq., Darlington.

Rev. G. T. FOX, M.A., Durham.

ROBERT CHARLTON, Esq., Bristol.

With upwards of FIVE HUNDRED MEMBERS OF GENERAL COUNCIL.

Chairman of the Executive : WILLIAM HARVEY, Esq.

Treasurer : WILLIAM ARMITAGE, Esq.

Honorary Secretary : SAMUEL POPE, Esq.

Secretary : Mr. T. H. BARKER.

Bankers : THE NATIONAL PROVINCIAL BANK OF ENGLAND.

Central Offices : 41, JOHN DALTON STREET, MANCHESTER.

London Office and Dépôt : 335, STRAND.

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That the traffic in intoxicating liquors, as common beverages, is inimical to the true interests of individuals, and destructive of the order and welfare of Society, and ought, therefore, to be prohibited.

That the history and results of all past legislation in regard to the liquor traffic, abundantly demonstrate that it is impossible, satisfactorily, to limit or regulate a system so essentially mischievous in its tendencies.

4.—That no considerations of private gain or public revenue can justify the upholding of a system so utterly wrong in principle, suicidal in policy, and disastrous in results, as the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

5.—That the legislative prohibition of the liquor traffic is perfectly compatible with rational liberty, and with all the claims of justice and legitimate commerce.

6.—That the legislative suppression of the liquor traffic would be highly conducive to the development of a progressive civilization.

7.—That, rising above class, sectarian, or party considerations, all good citizens should combine to procure an enactment prohibiting the sale of intoxicating beverages, as affording most efficient aid in removing the appalling evil of intemperance.

Signed on behalf of the Council,

WALTER C. TREVELYAN, Bart., President.

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